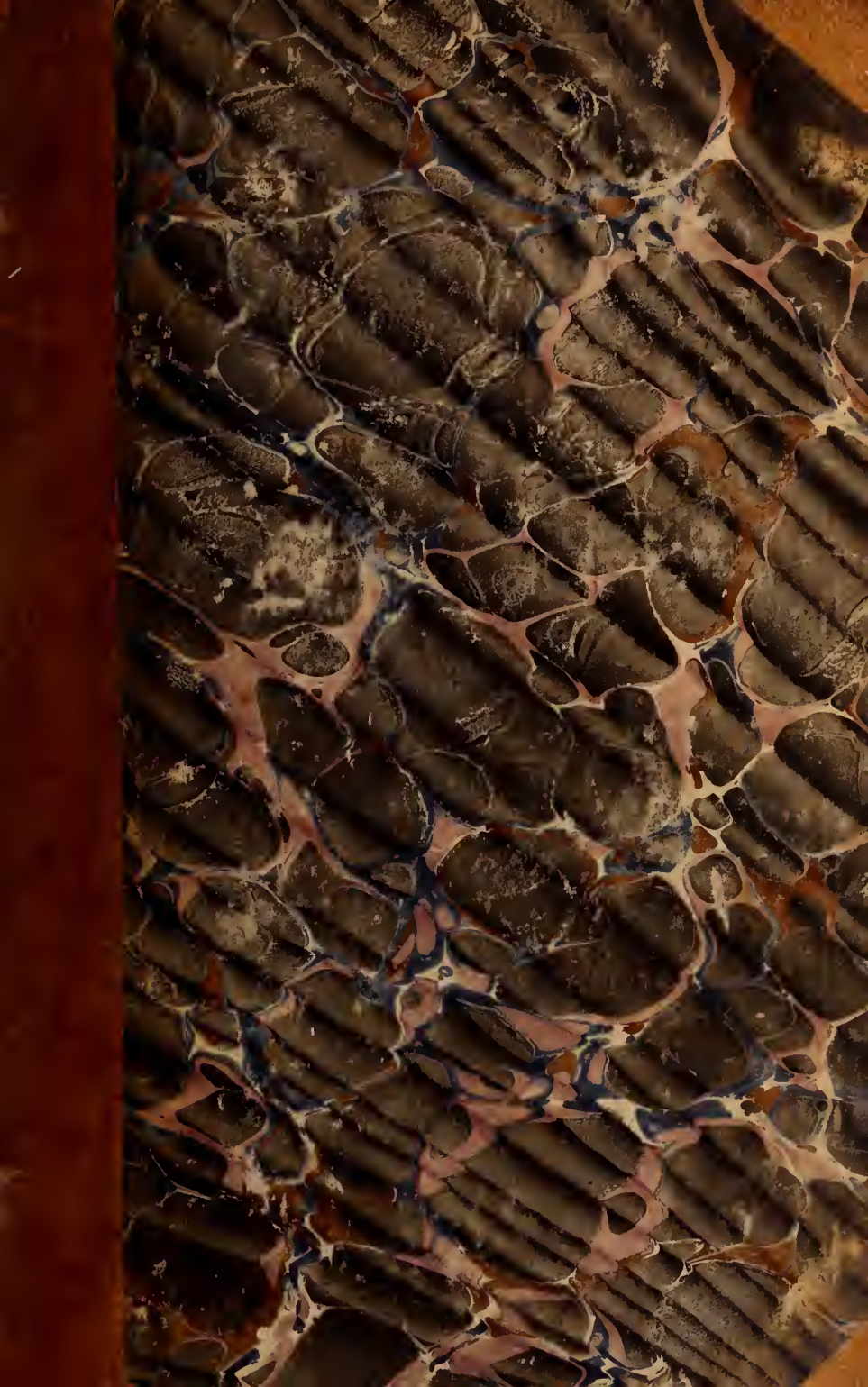




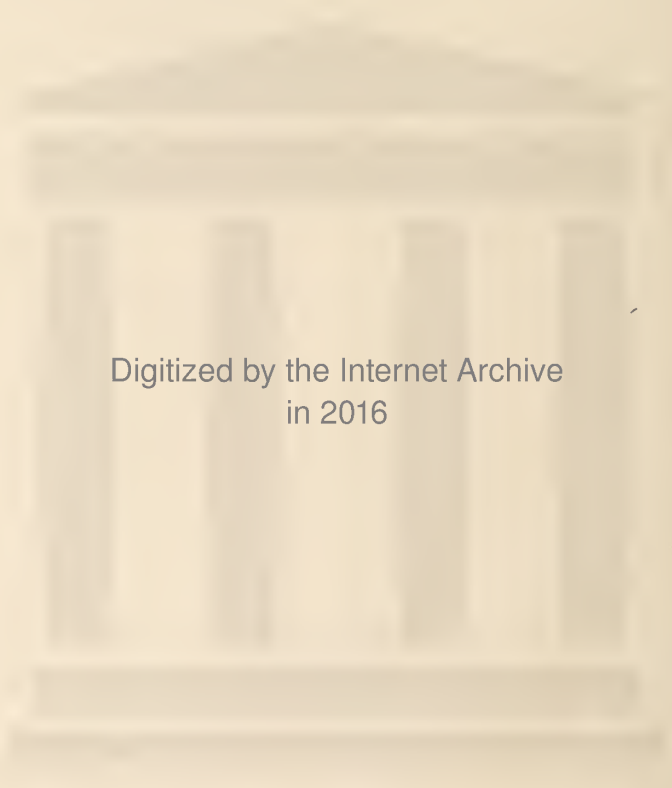
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ART. I. *An inquiry into the proper mode of rendering the word God in translating the Sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language.* By W. H. MEDHURST. (*Continued from page 310.*)

WE have shewn in the preceding pages, from Chinese lexicons and classical writers, from European sinologues, and from cognate languages, that Shin means spirit. We will now take the view of the word thus elicited to explain some things, which would otherwise appear unaccountable in the Chinese system.

1. The cautions so frequently occurring in the Chinese classics against paying too much attention to the Shins and Kwei Shins: while the regard due to Heaven or Shaug-te, is never supposed by any possibility to be excessive. This, on the supposition of the former meaning simply spirits, and the latter the Divinity, is easily accounted for; but if we look upon the Kwei Shins as the gods of China, we cannot conceive how the sages who inculcated the uninterrupted veneration of Heaven, should discourage the people from addicting themselves to the worship of the Shins.

Thus in the Lun-yü, book 3, page 17, Confucius directs his disciples to "respect the Kwei Shins, (spirits) but to keep them at a distance." The Commentator on this passage says, that "to exert one's utmost strength in doing what is suitable in our intercourse with mankind, and not to be deluded by that which is inscrutable, regarding the Kwei Shins (spirits,) is the business of the wise." Another remarks on this subject, that "for people to believe too much in the Kwei Shins (spirits) is a delusion." Again the paraphrase says,

"with regard to the Kwei Shins (spirits), respect them, but keep them at a distance; and neither flatter nor annoy them by your solicitations for happiness." Here we may observe, that if the Kwei Shins meant divinities, it would not be very likely that the great moralist of China, who uttered the sentiment above detailed, when inculcating the highest dictate of wisdom, would have exhorted his disciples to keep the gods at a distance. We never hear of his employing such phraseology with reference to Heaven, which he frequently requires his followers to venerate, but never to keep at a distance. Should it be argued that the keeping at a distance, here spoken of, is a mode of shewing extraordinary respect to the Kwei Shins, we can only refer to the 9th section of the Lun-yu, 9th page, where Confucius says, "It is difficult to know how to treat women and inferiors; if you bring them too near, they become unsubmissive, and if you remove them to a distance, they hate you." It is evident, that the removing to a distance here, does not mean the treating of them with additional respect, else why should they hate one? Ching-tsze says, that to put too much confidence in spirits, is a delusion: do they ever say the same with regard to Heaven? The more men reverence Heaven, according to the Chinese the better; and their feelings are very much shocked when it is suggested to them, that they must keep Heaven at a distance, or not place too much reliance on Heaven. Heaven in their estimation is Supreme, and the will of the Supreme is decisive of our fate: we are therefore to 爲善以聽命 *wei shen e t'hing ming*, do good and wait for the result from above.

In the Le-ke, 9th section, 44th page, Confucius speaks of the men of the Hea dynasty, who honoured the decree of Heaven, and while they served the Kwei Shins (spirits) with respect, kept them at a distance. The rulers of the Yin dynasty, on the contrary, honoured the Shins (spirits,) and regarded the Kweis more than ceremonies. The rulers of Chow, unlike these, honoured ceremonies, and after serving the Kwei Shins, kept them at a distance: upon which the Commentator remarks, "that the men of Yin honoured the Kwei Shins (spirits), which were beyond their comprehension, and disregarded ceremonies which were easy to be understood: hence the dissoluteness and unquietness manifested by the people, as the result of an excessive veneration for spirits."

In the Shoo-king, book 3, page 36, with reference to a too frequent repetition of ceremonies in the service of the Shins (spirits) a commentator remarks, "The customs of the Shang dynasty, at that time,

led men to 尙鬼 shang kwei, over-estimate the spirits; and the reigning monarch could not extricate himself from the bondage of custom, hence in the ceremonies used in the service of the Shins (spirits) he was apt to fall into error." The paraphrase says, that "in the service of the Shins (spirits,) to respect and keep them at a distance, is the height of intelligence."

In the Shoo-king, section 6, page 29, "Shun directed his officers to cut off the connection between earth and heaven, that there might be no (pretended) descents and approaches (of the spirits): after which both princes and people understood intelligent virtue, and aided in the maintenance of invariable principles." A commentator remarks, that "in a well-regulated age, the principles of justice are clearly developed; those who do good obtain happiness, and those who do evil fall into trouble. But during the oppressive reign of the Meaouites, the people became involved in crime, and consequent calamity, and having no persons to whom they could appeal for redress, they had recourse to Shins (spirits), and sacrificed to manes, in an improper manner. From this arose marvellous and lying stories, and men's minds fell into incorrectness." It appears, that in the decline of the reign of Shaou-haou, the nine tributary princes (spoken of by Amiot) threw the constant virtues into confusion, and thus the affairs of men and spirits were mingled together, so that every family had its conjurer, and the people profaned the sacrificial implements. Notwithstanding Chuen-heñh had put these things to rights, and assigned to men and spirits their proper limits, the Meaouites again threw things into confusion. Chang-she observes on this point, that "according to history, when a country is about to flourish, attention is paid to the people, and when a country is about to perish, attention is paid to spirits." Leu-she says, "In a well-regulated age, 神怪 Shin kwae, sprites and elves do not appear simply because the distinction between virtue and vice is clearly apparent, and people of course do not pray to the spirits; but in times of confusion, these distinctions are not manifest, and the people consequently are much given up to talking about 神 Shin, sprites, and 怪 kwae, elves, while they speak of necromancers and fortune-telling without end." Another says, that "this result was to be ascribed to the princes of the court, who displayed the principles of enlightened virtue, that people might not be perverted by superstitious and idle fancies; thus the minds of men would be free from delusions, and they would no longer seek for happiness from the spirits: for men are apt to err from correct principles, when they become deluded by 神 Shin, sprites,

and 怪 kwae, elves, and confuse the laws about sacrifice : but when intelligent virtue is clearly displayed, men's minds become correct, and they will of course seek for happiness in the way of constant virtue, and not in that of 妖 yaou, monstrous appearances." From all the above extracts we see that 神 Shin, means spirit and not God, which will appear, both from its connection with the 怪 kwae, strange and marvellous, and 妖 yaou, monstrous appearances, as well as from the fact of the people's being prohibited from addicting themselves to such superstitious matters, by the ancient sages. In times of confusion only, are the people said to be given up to the service of sprites and elves, while in a well-regulated age such sprites do not appear. The commentators on this passage refer to a supposed descent of a Shin (spirit) at Sin, during the period called the Chun-tsew, when the Hō country was about to be destroyed, and say, that the pretended descents of spirits in the time of Shun, which that monarch so much discouraged, were of the same character. On referring to the Chun-tsew history, we have some account of this supernatural appearance which is said to have continued for six months. When some people of the Hō country presented solicitations to this spirit, for the purpose of obtaining good fortune, a wise man predicted that the Hō country would be destroyed, because it practiced oppression and gave heed to spirits. Another observes, "I have heard it said, that when a state is about to prosper, the ruler attends to the people; and when it is near to ruin he applies to the spirits." Supposing for a moment that Shin meant gods, it is not to be conceived, that the wise men of a country would ascribe the ruin of a state to the attentions paid to the same; and we can account for the discouragement with which such services are met, only on the ground of Shin meaning spirits : addictedness to the worship of which would in all countries be looked upon as superstitious.

2. The frequent coupling of Kwei with Shin, is to be accounted for on no other principle, than that of the latter as well as the former meaning spirit.

It is capable of the clearest proof that Kwei means the manes of men. Kang-he says, that "Kwei is that to which the 精魂 tsing hwān, ethereal soul reverts; and that when the 精神 tsing shin, ethereal spirit, or animal spirit leaves the body, each part reverts to its proper place, hence the reverting is called Kwei." Morrison says, that Kwei means "the spirit of a dead man; a ghost; a demon; a devil. Kwei implies reverting to that spiritual state of existence of

which human beings return at death." In the theory of sacrifices the 天神 T'hëen-shin and the 地氣 Te-k'he, or the spirits of heaven and earth are almost always mentioned in connection with the 人鬼 jin kwei, manes of men. The terms seem inseparably bound up together, sometimes with one and sometimes with another preceding; a commentator on the Chow-le, gives us the reason of this variety, thus: "When they are arranged as Shin, Kwei, and K'he, the highness and lowness of their position is determined: (i. e. the Shins belonging to heaven, and the Kweis being supposed to have gone up to heaven after death, they are higher in position than the K'hes who belong to earth.) When they are arranged as Kwei, Shin, K'he, this is to distinguish the inner and outer among them, (i. e. the Kweis being related to the individuals sacrificing are the inner, or those belonging to their own family, while the Shins and K'hes not sustaining any relationship with the worshippers are the outer); and when they are arranged as Shin, K'he, Kwei, it is intended to illustrate the honourable and inferior among them, (i. e. the Shins and K'hes belonging to heaven and earth are the more honourable, and the Kweis belonging only to human beings are considered inferior.)" Thus it appears that the Kweis, Shins, and K'hes are all of the same class, with only this difference, that some belong to the upper regions, and others to the lower world, some are nearly and others distantly related, some are more honourable, and others inferior: with this exception, the Shins, the K'hes, and the Kweis are nearly alike; there is no essential difference between them. This similarity must result from the three kinds being equally gods, or from their being alike spirits. In the former, then the 人鬼 jin kwei, must be the gods of men, as well as 天神 t'hëen shin, and 地祇 te k'he, the gods of heaven and earth respectively. But the 人鬼 jin kwei, are adjuncts of the beings called men, they belong to them, and form an essential part of their existence; as the 神 Shin of Wăn-wang, (spoken of in the Book of Odes, ascending and descending in the presence of Te,) was the spirit of Wăn-wang, or Wăn-wang himself, after having quitted the body. No one would ever think of calling it the god of Wăn-wang, or the deity who presided over him: so the Kwei of ancestors are not the gods of ancestors, but those ancestors themselves, or all that remains of them, after the various parts of their constituted being have reverted to their proper places. The Kweis of men, therefore, are the spirits of men, and not the gods presiding over those particular beings. In this view of the Kwei, all

the Chinese lexicographers and classical writers coincide, and all European sinologues agree, attesting with united voice, that the Kweis of men are their disemhodied spirits, and not their gods. If Kwei mean spirits therefore, and the Shins and K'hes of Heaven and earth are of the same kind with the Kweis of men, then the Shins and K'hes must be spirits likewise. A commentator on the Chow-le has said that "speaking of the Shins, K'hes, and Kweis separately, then the Shins of heaven are alone denominated Shins; but speaking of them collectively, then the Kweis of men and the K'hes of earth are generally called Shins." From this we learn that the word Shin is applicable generally to the Kweis of men, as well as to the Shins and K'hes of heaven and earth; and as we have shewn that the Kweis of men must mean the spirits of men, it will follow that when such Kweis are called in a general sense Shins, then the word Shin means spirit also. Indeed the application of the word Shin to the Kweis of men, is of very general occurrence throughout the Chinese classics; for the manes of ancestors are as frequently called Shins as they are Kweis, and very often they are called Kwei Shin together, shewing that the words are of similar import in such application of them. As the Kwei of a deceased person is not the protecting genius of that person, but the unscattered spiritual energies of that individual, so the Shin of that person in the same acceptation must mean his spirit, and not his god. It is then, from the frequent coupling of the terms Kwei and Shin together, in the sense of the manes, that we are compelled to consider them both as spirits, and on no other grounds can we account for such a combination of the terms under such circumstances.

In the Chinese system of cosmogony, the Kwei and the Shins are essentially united together, and perform an equally important part therein: the one contracting and the other expanding, in order to bring about the effects visible in nature. The Chinese represent the Kwei Shins of nature's mechanism, as the effective operations of heaven and earth, and as the easily acting powers of the two principles of nature: spoken of with reference to their expanding and contracting, advancing and receding. In this respect the Kwei perform as considerable a part as the Shin, inasmuch as were there no contractings there could be no expandings, and were there no recedings there could be no advancing. In this connection also they are both viewed as spiritual energies: as witness Kang-he, "The 魂 hwān, soul of the superior principle of nature is called Sh'n, and the 魄 pih, anima of the inferior principle is called Kwei;" again, "the expandings of

the 氣 k'he, breath or spirit of nature constitute the Shin, and its contractings the Kwei." And to shew that the Kwei Shins in this connection mean spirits, or spiritual energies, we have only to consider their supposed origin, which is set forth as follows: "In the production of all things, there is undoubtedly present the 氣 k'he, breath or finer spirit of nature: this 氣 k'he, spirit is the essence of the Shin; so also there is undoubtedly present the 魄 p'ih, anima or grosser spirit of nature; this 魄 p'ih, anima is the essence of the Kwei." Here it is evident that 氣 K'he, must be rendered spirit, in order to make it correspond with the correlative term 魄 p'ih, anima: from these two respectively proceed the Shin and the Kwei, which are the fulness or essence of the breath and anima of nature. It is from the combination of the Kwei with the Shin in this scheme, and from the explanation of both by the words spirit and anima, that we are constrained to render the terms in question by some term resembling spirit in our language: but on the hypothesis that Shin means Divinity, we see no way of escaping the difficulties that surround the subject. The anima in man is certainly not his Divinity, neither can the anima of nature be the Divinity of nature: but the anima is the essence of the Kwei: the word Kwei, therefore, cannot be translated Divinity. Again, Shin and Kwei are correlative terms; the one has as much to do in the mechanism of nature as the other: therefore Shin cannot mean Divinity. Both Kwei and Shin are explained by terms which mean spirit of a finer or grosser kind, therefore they both mean spirit, and in this connection must import the spiritual energies of nature. On the other supposition, that Kwei Shin means Divinity, we shall find it difficult to explain how these said divinities are the 天地之功用造化之迹 t'heên tse che kung yung, tsaou hwa che tseih, energetic operations of heaven and earth, and the traces of production and transformation: or to reconcile with such a theory the following statement of Choo-foo-tsze, that "all advancings and recedings collectings and scatterings of 氣 k'he, the spirit of nature, are invariably the 用 yung, acting out of Heaven and earth, while the Kwei Shins are the most mysterious of such actings: but these having been moved in the 氣 k'he, spirit of nature, and displayed in its operations, are subordinate to form, and are therefore called the traces of production and transformation." To which add the statement of the critical commentator on the Chung-yung, that "such productions and transformations point to the doings of Heaven and earth." From which we gather,

that Heaven and earth, is the prime mover, and that the Kwei Shins are a series of secondary causes. They are therefore not divinities, but the spirits or spiritual energies employed by the Divinity, in the production and transformation of things.

3. If Shin mean spirit, we may easily account for the fact, that the Shins, when viewed as mere spirits, should be inferior to Te or the Tes in general. When the Chinese classical writers use Shin by way of definition, and speak of Te or Shang-te as a Shin or spirit, the word Shin is of course dignified as being descriptive of the spiritual nature of him who is ruler over all: but when they use Shin by way of designation as referring to a class of beings who are mere Shins or spirits and not Tes, the word in such case conveys no especial idea of dignity or majesty with it. As in English, when we say, God is a spirit, we of course allude to a spirit of infinite glory and honour; but when we speak of those who are mere spirits, we designate a class of beings who have naturally no dignity or authority whatever.

In the *Le-ke*, vol. 3, page 41, we read, that when the vernal sacrifices were presented, the Te, or deity sacrificed to, was T'hae-haou, and the Shin, or spirit honoured on the same occasion was Kow-mang. T'hae-haou is described by the Commentator, as the 君 keun, or sovereign, who ruled by virtue of the element wood: and Kow-mang as the 臣 chin, or minister, who officiated by virtue of the same element. T'hae-haou was also prior in point of time to Kow-mang: after their death, they were both sacrificed to, the one as a presiding deity, and the other as a ministering spirit; and so with various other Tes and Shins, at the different seasons of the year. In the 81st page of the same book, Kow-mang and his fellows are represented as the helpers and assistants of the five Tes. It is evident, therefore, that the Chinese in this instance considered the Shins as inferior to the Tes, as officers are inferior to sovereigns, or descendants to their ancestors. On the supposition that the Shins were divinities, we cannot see how they should be ranked below another class of beings worshipped on the same occasion: but if we consider the Shins as mere spirits, the representation of the classic is of easy explanation.

In the Commentary on the *Yih-king*, it is asked, "If Heaven does not oppose, how can men, and how can the Kwei Shins?" Here Heaven evidently refers to the Divinity, in the Chinese estimation, whose opposition not being manifested, the opposition of the Kwei

Shins would be ineffectual. The Kwei Shins therefore, as spirits are distinct from the Divinity, and unable to oppose him. Another commentator says, "those who confer benefits are men, those who do not oppose are the Kwei Shins: but we must act agreeably to the mind of Heaven, before we can obtain such results." Here also the subjection of the Kwei Shins, as spirits, to Heaven or the Divinity is clear. Again, "In this diagram, after saying that the divinations do not oppose, it follows that the Kwei Shins are compliant; but the writer carries the idea further up to Shang-te, without whom the Kwei Shins of the hills and rivers could do nothing with the diagrams. Thus it appears, that Te is Lord of the hundred Shins, and when blessings come from above, it shews that the mind of Heaven is gratified, and that neither men nor Shins can oppose." From the above extracts it is evident, that Heaven, Te, or Shang-te, is the Supreme Power, and that the Kwei Shins are spirits, who cannot oppose his will, because he is Lord of the hundred Shins. If in all this we render the phrase Kwei Shins by spirits, we see no difficulty, because spirits, viewed as mere invisible intelligences, are undoubtedly subject to the Ruler of all.

In the Chow-le, vol. 3. page 23, it is said, that the king puts on felicitous robes when sacrificing to the Shang-te of the glorious heavens, or to the five Tes, but when he sacrifices to the spirits of the hills and rivers, he omits these robes, because, says the Commentator, "he did not dare to gratify those who were inferior, by putting on the most honourable dress." Thus we see, that when the Kwei Shins of the hills and rivers come into comparison with Shang-te, or the five Tes, they are considered as inferior; as would mere spirits in comparison with divinities in all countries.

In the 儀禮 Ele, vol. 8, page 25, a commentator says, that "the upper and lower Shins, or the spirits of the sun and moon, hills and rivers, are not the most honourable in heaven and earth: and are not of the same rank with the 天帝 t'héen te, celestial Tes, nor even with the 人帝 jin te, human Tes." Here the Shins, as contrasted with the Tes, are looked upon as inferior, and must therefore be considered as spirits and not divinities.

According to the ritual of the present dynasty, as we have already seen, the 天神 T'héen Shins, and 地祇 Te k'hes all rank as secondaries in the sacrifice, are only treated with secondary honours, and are worshipped by deputy; while the altar consecrated to Te, and the Tes who constitute the imperial progenitors, is higher than theirs, the sacrifices are more costly, and presented by the Emperor

in person. The names and titles of these Tes are elevated three characters above the line, while those of the T'héen shins are only elevated two characters above the line, and in this respect put on a level with the Emperor. Thus, in the most solemn religious service performed in the empire, the T'héen Shins are treated with second-class services, while the highest honours are reserved for those who are not called Shins on this occasion, but Tes. If we translate the Shins and the K'hes, by the spirits of heaven and earth, as all the lexicographers and classical writers warrant us in doing, we shall be able easily to account for the above fact.

With reference to the popular views, as to the relative importance of the Kwei Shins, when compared with Te or the Tes in general, we may refer to a collection of essays, drawn up by the learned men of the present day, in one of which we are told, that “上帝之下有鬼神 *Shang-te che hea yew kwei shin*, the Kwei Shins are subject to Shang-te, as the mandarins are subject to the Emperor; that they receive the commands of Heaven to examine the feelings of men, as the hundred officers are under the 子天 *T'héen tsze*, Son of Heaven, receiving the Sovereign's commands, to controul men's persons. The merits or demerits of the people, it is said, are all communicated to the Emperor by the reporting mandarins; and so the Kwei Shins examine the good and search out the bad: but the 氣 *k'he*, breath of the invisible spirit of man, has immediate access to the throne of Te, and there is no need to wait for the Kwei Shins to go in and report. From the above we perceive, that the Kwei Shins bear the same relation to Te, as mandarins to do the Emperor; the term by which to render them in our language, therefore, is spirits and not divinities.

With regard to the views entertained by the Taonists on this subject, we may observe, that they regard 北帝 *Pih-te*, as the superintendant of all the Kwei Shins throughout the world, and one of the Tes, acting under the command of 玉帝 *Yüh-te*, the Supreme Deity among the Taouists, is said to have the superintendence of all the 神 *T'héen Shins*, celestial spirits, and 天將 *t'héen tseang*, celestial generals, examining into their merits or demerits, and dealing with them accordingly. From which we gather, that the Taouists consider the Shins as mere spirits, inferior to the Tes.

4. If as we have shewn, the word Shin means spirit, we can easily account for its application to Te or Shang-te, the Supreme Divinity according to the Chinese. Various quotations have been brought

forward by the advocates of Shin to prove that Shang-te, Te, or T'héen, is a Shin, and the argument sought to be based thereon is, that Shang-te being the chief Divinity among the Chinese and at the same time a Shin, therefore Shin means Divinity. But if Shin, of its own natural and proper force, means spirit, then the shewing that Shang-te is a Shin, will not prove that Shin means Divinity: any more than in English, the shewing that God is a spirit would prove that spirits are gods. In order to shew that Shin meant God, dictionaries should be referred to which say that Shin is God; or classical writers should be quoted who use the word Shin in the sense of God, as to what he is and does; but this has not, and cannot be done; for the lexicographers do not assign to the word Shin the meaning of Divinity, and there are no instances in which Shin, when used alone by classical writers, is said to possess those attributes, or to perform those actions which the Divinity in the estimation of the Chinese is said to be and to do. Much importance has been attached to the argument that Shang-te is called a Shin, and those who have brought it forward have felt confident that the passages adduced to shew this cannot be explained away; but unless it can be shewn that Shin in such an application means God, such testimonies are of no avail. If, as we have proved, Shin means a spirit, then all such quotations will only go to shew that the Supreme God in the estimation of the Chinese is a spiritual being, but will not prove either that Shin means God, or that all Shins are gods, so as to establish the assertion that Shin is the generic name for God in Chinese. A spirit is an incorporeal being or intelligence, in which sense God is said to be a spirit, as are angels and the souls of men. A spirit may be infinite, almighty, omniscient and supreme, if spoken of with reference to God; or it may be dependent, limited, and subordinate, if the allusion be to the spirits of heaven and earth, (who are employed by the Divinity,) or if the word be used merely with respect to the manes of men.

It has been asserted, however, that the circumstance of the Chinese making the Shins the objects of religious worship, is proof sufficient that they regard them as gods. To this we reply, that it does not follow, because men make certain beings the objects of religious worship, that therefore they regard them as gods. We have referred in the previous part of the enquiry to the Sabæans, who worshipped the stars, or the intelligences which were supposed to reside in them, and yet they believed in one God. In the same manner, the ancient Arabs worshipped the angels, whose intercession they begged as

their mediators with God. So also the Chinese worship the 天神 t'heen shin, Shins of Heaven, and the 地祇 te k'he, K'hes of earth, which they explain to be spirits in all their dictionaries and commentaries; foreigners also, writing on their language and religion, have translated these terms, whether in the concrete or abstract, by the word spirit. Such being the case, the circumstance of religious worship being paid to such spirits, does not alter the natural radical meaning of the term, nor warrant us in translating it by God, wherever it occurs; still less does the fact of the Chinese worshipping these Shins, or spirits, sanction our using the word Shin as generic for God, when translating the Scriptures into their language.* But it has been urged, that the worship offered to the Shins, is a violation of the first commandment, and that therefore we must number the objects thus worshipped among the other gods, who are not to be honoured before Jehovah; to which we reply, that the worship of any object or being, other than Jehovah, is indeed a violation of the first commandment; but it does not therefore follow, that the term for signifying such object or being could be used generically for God. Suppose we had come among a people who were in the habit of worshipping angels or dæmons, their so doing would not warrant us in adopting the word angel or dæmon for God. The Greeks, among whom the Apostles went, offered religious worship and sacrifice to dæmons,* and their doing so was undoubtedly a breach of the first commandment; yet the Apostles did not see fit to use the word dæmon for God: neither is the circumstance, of the Shins having been

* The ideas entertained by the Chinese, on the subject of sacrificing to the Kwei Shins, may be ascertained, by a reference to what Choo-foo-tsze says in his works, section 51, page 42: an enquirer asked, "Seeing that the departed become Kweis, why are progenitors said to approach and come?" To which the philosopher replied, "This refers to their being influenced (by sacrifices); and when they are said to come and approach, there is a slight allusion to the Shin, or expanding principle; whilst we take our animal spirits to influence their animal spirits. Sacrifices and offerings are altogether presented with this view."

Mr. Mede says, "that it was (then) the very tenet of the Gentiles, that the sovereign and celestial gods were to be worshipped only with the pure mind, and with hymns and praises; while sacrifices were only for dæmons."

* Dæmon, says Buck, is a name given to certain spirits or genii, which were said to appear to men, either to do them service, or to hurt them. Several of the heathen philosophers held, that there were different kinds of dæmons; that some of them were spiritual substances of a more noble origin than the human race, and that others had once been men. But these dæmons, who were the more immediate objects of the established worship among the ancient nations, were human spirits, such as were believed to become dæmons or deities, after their departure from the body." See also the opinion of Maimonides quoted by Parkhurst under the word Dæmonion.

worshipped by the Chinese, sufficient to warrant us in using that word generically for God, when we find, that in respect to sovereignty, and the power of originating things, it does not convey to the Chinese mind the same idea, which was conveyed to the mind of a Greek by the use of *Theos*.

5. It is only on the supposition that Shin means spirit, that we are enabled to account for its very frequent application to the human mind, the animal spirits, and the rational soul. On no other principle could the various passages in which Shin occurs be reconciled with each other. If we take Shin in the sense of God and Divinity, we must explain the following passage : 神思不足 Shin sze pūh tsūh; "God's thoughts are not sufficient;" whereas Morrison renders it, a "a defect in the cogitations of the soul, idiocy." So also 神勞 shin laou, must be rendered "the God wearied," whereas it means "the mind harassed." In like manner, 神之神 shin che shin, would be "the God of God," whereas its true meaning is "the extending of the expanding spirit of nature;" and 神之鬼 shin che kwei, would be the dæmon of God, whereas it should be rendered the contracting of the expanding spirit of nature; 魂神 hwān shin, must on such an hypothesis be the God of the soul, whereas it simply means "the soul." But we have no need to quote further, as we have already given a host of examples in which Shin means the mind, spirit, and sentiment; and it is capable of the clearest proof, that Shin refers in a multitude of instances to the soul, while every Chinese will tell you that he has got a Shin or spirit, otherwise he could not live. Now no one ever looked upon his soul as his God, or worshipped it as such. The Greeks who were Pantheists, and considered their soul a part of the *to pan*, never called their soul *Theos*; and a word that is equally applicable to the divine nature, as the well as the human soul, cannot in itself mean divinity. Take for instance the rational faculty. It may be said, that God possesses reason in the highest degree; man also possesses reason; the phrase rational being, therefore, is not distinctive of divinity. So also, God is a spirit, and the human soul is a spirit; the word *spirit*, therefore, cannot be restricted to the Divinity. Now when we find a word, which is equally predicable of the Divine being, and of the human mind, we cannot consider it as indicative of divinity, but must find some other term whereby to express it.

It has been argued, in favour of Shin, that it means a class of beings, comprehending the highest known to the Chinese; but this is by

no means démonstrative of its meaning divinity. The class of spirits in Christian nomenclature, that is spiritual and intelligent beings, includes all beings from God down to the human soul. That there is divinity comprehended among the spirits is at once allowed; but this does not render spirit a proper term by which to express divinity. The idea of divinity is not inherent in the word spirit: the quality of spirit or spirituality forms part of the essential elements of divinity, but does not comprehend the whole of those elements; while spirit, on the other hand, comprehends a separate class of beings, totally different from divinities, except in this one quality of spiritual energy or intelligence. We may say, with perfect propriety, that a spirit created the world; because God is a spirit, and the world was created by him; but it was not in his spiritual, but in his divine capacity, that he effected that work; for every spirit could not create a world, and only the Divine Spirit could accomplish such a task. The Shins among the Chinese comprehend the Tes, who are admitted to be gods, and therefore it is argued, that Shin is the generic word for God: but the Shins comprehend the human soul, which is not divine: therefore, as a generic word, it comprehends much of which divinity is never predicated. It has been said, that Shin is a generic term applicable to all beings that are worshipped. Wide as this range however is, we conceive that it has in reality a still wider one, as it comprehends the human mind, which has never been honoured with religious worship by the Chinese. If Shin mean divinity therefore, the Chinese must be looked upon as possessing very low ideas of what divinity is, since in their daily conversation they speak of their own soul, by means of which they are able to think, to act, and to talk, as a god (Shin.) Such a mode of speaking is inveterately rooted among this people, forming a part of their language; and it is no reply to the objection, that it is an idolatrous and improper habit, which Christianity may be expected to eradicate, as it did the idolatrous mode of speaking in vogue among the Greeks and Romans; for they had never any such habit as this; it never having occurred to them to say, of that mental and spiritual energy, which enabled them to think and act, as living and intelligent beings, that it was their *Deus* or *Theos* that did it. On the other hand, the Chinese have constantly been accustomed to use Shin with reference to the human soul, while they have never employed it when speaking of the acts and attributes of the Supreme in their estimation: in endeavouring to correct their habits, therefore, we shall not only have to prevent them from lowering Shin so much as to apply it to the human

soul, but we must also exhort them to raise it above what they have been accustomed to do, and apply it mainly to the Divine Being, in speaking of his producing and governing all things.

In no language, that we are acquainted with, do we find the generic word for God used in describing the feelings and affections, thoughts and imaginations of man; but the Chinese frequently employ the word Shin with that reference: and, when connected with a possessive personal pronoun, it must be understood in the sense of a man's soul or mind. 'Thus 我之 神 gno che shin, means my spirit, and not my God; 爾之 神 urh che shin, thy spirit, and not thy God: 他之 神 t'ha che shin, his spirit, and not his God. Can that therefore be a proper term, wherewith to represent God in Scripture, which necessarily conveys in certain connections, (and those connections occurring frequently) a different meaning? and is it not presumptive evidence that the term means spirit and not God throughout, when there are instances in which it must be taken in the former sense, and no instances in which it must be taken in the latter?

6. By rendering the word Shin as spirit, we avoid inconsistency, when we come to speak of Shin as the adjunct of a being. Numerous instances occur in which Shin is used in the abstract, as a quality belonging to a person or being. Such as the Shin of Te, the Shin of Wán-wang, the Shins of ancestors, and the Shin of a living man. If Shin in the concrete, is to be translated god it ought also, according to the analogy of language, to be translated divinity in the abstract; but we have shewn, that it cannot be rendered god in the cases referred to, but spirit, or spiritual energy and intelligence. To render it one way in the concrete, and another in the abstract, would be manifestly inconsistent: which inconsistency would be avoided by translating it spirit in both cases; and as the word spirit is capable of being understood in both the abstract and concrete senses, no alteration need be made in the way of rendering the term; but spirit, in English, will in either case fully correspond to Shin in Chinese. If it be asked, How are we to know whether the term Shin is to be understood in the abstract or the concrete? We answer, that whenever shin is spoken of as belonging to a person or being, it must be understood as referring to the spirit of that person, or an adjunct of that being; and whenever it is used with reference to a place or thing, it may then be considered as meaning a spirit inhabiting that place, or presiding over that thing. It is on this account,

that Shin, when belonging to a living person, always means the spirit of that person, and when used with reference to a dead person, it must mean the manes of that person, that we object so strongly to Shin, as the generic word for God. In translating several passages of Scripture, this would appear very glaring; and if Shin were employed for God in such passages, the sense would certainly not be comprehended by the Chinese. Thus in Genesis 46: 1. "Israel offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac." If the word Shin were employed in this case, there is not a Chinese throughout the whole empire, knowing the sense usually put upon the terms in his own books but would consider this passage as meaning, that Israel offered sacrifices to the manes of his father Isaac. There is no escaping this difficulty, and if Shin be employed, some note must certainly be appended here, to shew that the Shin to whom Israel offered sacrifices was the God who made and governed his father Isaac, and not the ghost or shade of a deceased parent, to which the Chinese from time immemorial, and throughout all the provinces of the empire, have been in the habit of offering sacrifices. Can that be a proper term then, to represent the Deity, which, if left in its naked form, must in certain cases be understood in the sense of the spirit of a dead man? If it will necessarily be taken in that sense, is there not some radical defect in the word, as indicating divinity, and have not those misunderstood its natural meaning, who wish to employ it as generic for God? Could we ever expect to bring the Chinese off from their superstitious worship of the dead, when we present them with a putirarchal example of sacrificing to the manes of a deceased parent, which is mentioned with approbation, and held up for imitation? They would have only to refer to this Scriptural example, and the practice would go on to the end of time, unless it were prevented by other means. Even the context would not disabuse the Chinese reader's mind; for in the second and third verses he would read, that "God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said, I am God, the God of thy father, &c." which, if God were represented by Shin, the Chinese would consider as explanatory of the term in the preceding verse, that Shin meant the manes of Israel's father. So also in Genesis 43: 23. "Your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks:" which passage, from the known propensity of the Chinese to ascribe the increase of wealth to the manes of parents, would be understood in that sense here. In the same way, Gen. 26: 24. 31: 5, 29, 42. 53. 32: 9. 49: 25. Exodus 3: 6. 15: 2. 18: 4. 1. Chronicles 5: 25. 12: 17. 2 Chronicles

20 : 33. 33 : 12. Isaiah 33 : 5. Daniel 2 : 23. in all which cases, where the god of deceased persons was referred to, as the object of prayer, the ground of confidence, the source of help, the point of appeal, or the subject of praise and adoration, there can be little doubt, but the Chinese would understand the word God, if rendered by Spirit, as referring to the manes of their progenitors, to whom this people are in the habit of presenting incense and offerings, on whose influence they depend, and to whom they look for health, prosperity, and every blessing. In fact, the Chinese in worshipping Shin, according to the Confucian system, never worship any other than the Shins of their ancestors, so that they would naturally and necessarily understand the word Shin, in connection with deceased progenitors, in this sense and in this only. So also in Matt. 22, 32. "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob : God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." If Shin were employed as the word to render *Theos*, the Chinese would in the first place understand the Shin of the patriarchs, to allude to their manes; and then the expression, "the Shin of the dead," would very much resemble phrases current among themselves, signifying the manes of the dead. The "Shin of the living" would, on the other hand, be understood by them to mean the spirit of a living person; and taking the whole together, they would perhaps imagine, that the patriarchs whose Shins were spoken of, were still alive in some way, because their spirits were said to be the Shins of the living, and not of the dead.

Thus it is, that when the term God is used as belonging to a person, that the employment of Shin, would be most unsuitable. Because the Chinese would not understand by the Shin of any one the God that rules over him, and protects him i. e. the object of his worship, but the spirit or manes of the party referred to. Just as Wăn wâng's Shin does not mean his god, but his spirit; and as the Shins of ancestors and departed worthies always refer to their manes; so when the God of Abraham, &c. is spoken of (Matt. 22 : 32.) if Shin were employed, it would necessarily refer to the manes of Abraham. The Shin of our fathers, in Acts 5 : 30. would in like manner be the manes of our fathers; and the Shin of Jacob. Acts 7 : 46. would be the manes of Jacob. With regard to a living person, his Shin means his spirit; as in 神不附體 shin pūh foo t'he, his spirit was separated from his body; by this phrase the Chinese mean that there was no longer any spirit in the man, that he was frightened out of his wits. 畱神於此 Lew shin yu tsze, Morrison renders, "keep your mind on this." Such being the

sense put upon Shin, when spoken of as belonging to a living man, there is every probability that the Chinese would not understand "my Shin, my Shin," in those passages, Ps. 22: 1. and Matt. 27: 46. as intimating that the God of the person speaking had forsaken him, but that his spirit had left him. It is remarkable that in Morrison's version, the same phraseology is employed in Luke 1: 47. to express "my spirit," viz. 吾神 *woo shin*, my Shin, as is used in Matt. 27: 46. to express "my God." In the first instance Morrison has done right, but in the second he has rendered himself exceedingly liable to be misunderstood. So when David, in giving his dying advice to his son Solomon, says, "My God will he with thee;" this expression, if Shin were employed, would be understood by the Chinese of his manes after his departure. In Isaiah 7: 13. 'will ye weary my God also': the phraseology would, if Shin were employed, be precisely similar to a well-known Chinese expression, 勞神 *laou Shin*, which means wearying the spirit of the person alluded to. Likewise in the following passages, Ps. 20: 1. 75: 9. 76: 6. 84: 8. 94: 7. Micah 4: 2. where the God of Jacob is spoken of, the reference would, if Shin were employed, be undoubtedly understood to be to the spirit or manes of Jacob; particularly where such Shin is spoken of as defending the persons using the phrases, or as being praised and worshipped by them. Further in Eph. 1: 17. "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ" would, if Shin were employed, be understood to refer to the manes or spirit of the person spoken of; particularly as he was dead at the time when the expression was used, and blessings were sought for from him. It has been suggested by the advocates of Shin, that in the well-known phrase 帝之神 *Te che Shin*, the Shin of 'Te, occurring in the Chinese ritual, the word Shin must be understood in the sense of the "Divinity of Te;" according to this, then, the Shin of our Lord Jesus Christ must mean the Divinity of the Saviour: and the acts predicated of the same. viz. the giving to the Ephesians the spirit of wisdom and revelation, must be ascribed to an abstract quality; which would be as unsuitable here, as we have shewn the coming and going, the approving and disapproving of the Shin of Te would be, supposing his divinity were intended.

We might here add a few other passages of Scripture, in which, if God were rendered by Shin, it would appear as unsuitable to the Chinese, as would the word spirit in the same passages to an English reader. Thus Acts 17: 24. "God that made the world and all things

therein, seeing he is Lord of heaven and earth, &c. hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation :” and Heb. 3 : 4. “He that built all things is God.” So in Psalm 47 : 7. 45 : 6. Matt. 23 : 22. 5 : 35. Dan. 6 : 26. Matt. 6 : 33. Job 37 : 22. where God is said to be a king, to have a throne, a sceptre, a kingdom, &c. Thus also in Gen. 1 : 27, and Eccl. 7 : 29, where God is said to have made man upright, and in his own image.

There are a few passages also, which speak of God in connection with spirit or spirits, where the employment of Shin could not convey the meaning of the sacred writers : thus John 4 : 24. “God is a spirit,” would, if Shin were employed for God, and Ling or any other synonymous term for spirit, merely convey to the Chinese mind the idea that a spirit or spirits in general were spiritual beings ; thus explaining Shin in the sense of spirits, as Kang-he does, but not pointing out the spiritual nature of the Divine Being. So in Num. 16 : 22. the sentence “the God of the spirits of all flesh,” would, if Shin were employed, be understood as merely adding intensity to the word spirits, but not as intimating supremacy over them.

7. By understanding Shin in the sense of spirit, we are enabled to account for the fact of the Chinese never having employed the term when speaking of the originator, governor, and disposer of all things, which on the supposition that it means God is unaccountable. They have had occasion to speak frequently of a being who caused all things to come forth, who conferred on man the virtuous principle, and who decides the fates of emperors and dynasties ; and yet they never call that being, with reference to those acts and attributes, Shin but Te. They say, that Te is a Shin, but they never say that Shin does these things. Other nations have employed, in such connections, the term which they used generically for God ; and we cannot account for the Chinese not having employed Shin in such a sense, but because they did not consider that Shin meant God, but spirit ; which meaning all their dictionaries and classical writers have put upon the term. The Chinese in this case are consistent ; for in no other language do men speak positively and directly of spirit doing the things above referred to. This fact also accounts for their not paying their highest adoration to Shin, in the public and solemn services, which are detailed in the imperial ritual. Te, and the deified progenitors of the royal house who are Tes, are honoured with the highest services, while those who are simply designated Shins, and worshipped as such, are treated with only secondary honours. This, if Shin mean God is strange ; but understanding it

in the sense of spirit, the fact is easily accounted for. Assigning such a meaning to the term, we are enabled to see how it is, that the Chinese, whether in writing or speaking, never attach that idea of dignity and majesty to Shin, which they would do if it signified God; but as it means only spirit we need not be surprised, if when speaking of mere Shins, they should not appear to be affected with any peculiar veneration and awe, more than we should at an invisible intelligence, who might be supposed to be before us. We can here see also how it is that in all their philological works, which are arranged according to subjects, the class of Shins should never be ranked in the first place, but be always placed after Heaven, earth and even man; a classification easily accounted for, if we understand Shin in the sense of spirit, but not if we interpret it to mean God. It is singular, also, that both the Taouist and Buddhist writers, in works published by themselves, should never have given to their deities the designation of Shin. The View of the three Religions of China, gives a number of names of worshipped beings, among which the Shins, who are mere spirit and nothing higher, do not occur until nearly the end of the work, and the name is attached only to a few who are viewed in an inferior capacity. We conceive therefore, that those have not rightly interpreted the word Shin, who in spite of the united testimony of Chinese authorities have insisted upon understanding it in the sense of God.

8. By understanding Shin in the sense of spirit, we may account for certain predicates of a superhuman character being ascribed to the Shins, though the more exalted attributes, which the Chinese consider peculiar to divinity, are not attached to those who are Shins alone. Thus, for instance, vast knowledge, even amounting in some instances to prescience; great power, which enables them to guide the winds and influence the rain; the ability to affect men's minds in a moral point of view; the capacity of being present in all substances; the being invisible and inaudible; the being abstruse, and yet manifest; the being supposed capable of answering supplications; the presiding over sun, moon, and stars, with hills and rivers, drought and inundation; the possessing moral qualities, such as sincerity and uprightness, according to which they exalt the humble and depress the proud: all these have been predicated of spirits in other countries, and such spirits have even been worshipped by different nations, without their being accounted by those who worship them as divinities. On the other hand, the works of creation and superintending Providence, are not in other countries ascribed to spirits, as in China

they are not ascribed to the Shins; shewing that the word spirit corresponds more to Shin than divinity does. At the same time, no disparagement is cast on the word *Shin* by the Chinese, any more than on the term *spirit* by us. It is on this account, that Shin may properly be used for the Spirit of God by Christians, as 帝之神 *Te che shin* is understood in the sense of the spirit of *Te* by the Chinese.

9. By understanding Shin in the sense of spirit and not God, we shall be able to account for the fact of all those Christian writers, who have adopted Shin in the sense of God, having been obliged either to abandon it, or to qualify it by some term, in order to make it convey to the Chinese the sense intended. Thus the Roman Catholics, who first adopted Shin for God in the translation of the Harmony of the Gospels and the Epistles, found in the British Museum, were soon compelled to give it up, and use *T'hëen* or *Shang-te*. Subsequently, when they saw reasons for rejecting *T'hëen* or *Shang-te* they did not return to the use of Shin, but resorted to *T'hëen choo*. In all the controversies, likewise, which took place between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, as to the proper term for expressing the Deity, the dispute between them was not, whether Shin or *T'hëen* and *Shang-te* should be used; but whether *T'hëen* and *Shang-te* or *T'hëen choo*, should be employed. The word Shin never came into discussion, nor did either party think for a moment of proposing it. We have looked through several volumes of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, and we have not been able to find a single allusion, from either party, to the propriety of using Shin in the sense of God. They appear, at the time alluded to, entirely to have discarded all idea of Shin's meaning God, and to have been perfectly satisfied that it meant spirit only. The various parties fought hard to see which of the two terms, 天 *t'hëen*, or 天主 *T'hëen-choo*, should be adopted; these terms appeared to the disputants, on either side, to convey the idea of Divinity; but were severally objected to by their antagonists; 天 *t'hëen*, on the ground of its being likely to be mistaken for the visible heavens; and 天主 *T'hëen-choo*, because it might possibly be confounded with various idols of that name; but had they conceived that Shin meant divinity, and was the generic name for God, as is now thought, there would have been no necessity for the parties contending any further; as another term, entirely distinct from either of those about which they were arguing would have answered every purpose, and set the question entirely at rest. But they, neither of them ventured to propose Shin: certainly not because they were unacquainted with that term in all its bearings: (we only wish that our Protestant Mis-

sionaries of the present day were as well acquainted with Chinese literature, as were the early Romish Missionaries); but because they had already weighed it in the balance, and found it wanting. Neither were they guided in their rejection of Shin by a deference to the Papal bull; the term in question having been given up on philological grounds before that bull was issued; and that decretal not having been designed to decide the case of Shin, but whether T'héen-choo should be used in preference to T'héen or Shang-te. Still, without any order to that effect, the mere force of the argument drawn from the meaning of the word led the Romish Missionaries, in all ages, (with the exception of the period when they began their labours), to understand Shin in the sense of spirit, and that only.

In like manner, Morrison and Milne, who adopted Shin for God in their translation of the Scriptures, soon found that they could not depend on that term alone, to convey an adequate impression of the Deity, to the minds of the Chinese, in the prosecution of their labours; and therefore, they adopted in their preachings and tracts, some other term to render it more definite and intelligible, in the sense in which they intended it. For instance, they used 眞神 chin shin, for the true God: 眞活神 chin hwō shin, for the true and living God: 神 卜 shin choo, for the divine Lord; (which term however, they came to dislike very much, on account of its being the same phrase with that employed for the parental tablet, worshipped by the Chinese), and 神天 Shin t'héen, the spiritual heavens, as we have already seen. In the last work which he published, Milne used 上帝 Shang-te for God throughout, without any qualification or addition; and in Morrison's latest Chinese work, published in 1831, called the Domestic Instructor, he has employed indiscriminately 神 Shin, 眞神 chin shin, 神主 shin choo, 神天 shin t'héen, 天 t'héen; * 神天上帝 Shin t'héen Shang te, and 天帝 T'héen te: 天皇 T'héen hwang; 天帝主神 T'héen te shin choo; 神天上帝 Shin t'héen Shang te; 神天大帝 Shin t'héen ta te; 天皇神主 T'héen hwang shin choo; 天皇上帝 T'héen hwang Shang-te; 上帝 Shang-te; 天上上帝 T'héen shang Shang-te; 眞神上帝 Chin shin Shang-te; 天上之

* Morrison has in order to express the phrase, "Jesus the Son of God," used 天子 T'héen tsze, the Son of Heaven, which is a term solely appropriated to the Emperor of China

上帝 T'héen shang che Shang-te; 天皇神父 T'héen hwang shin foo; 上帝神天 Shang-te shin t'héen. Now it must occur to any one, on reading over these various modes of expressing the Deity, that the compiler of the Domestic Instructor must have been very much dissatisfied with the term originally chosen by himself, or he would not have adopted so many others, as it were to add clearness to the idea. These other terms, let it be remembered (with the exception of 真神 chin shin.) not possessing the least affinity to the one first selected. In every other case, in which 神 Shin forms a part of the phrase, the Shin is the qualifying term; while the others such as 主 choo, Lord, 天 t'héen, heaven, and 父 foo, father, are the principal words depended on to express the idea of God. In all other cases, where 上帝 Shang-te, 天帝 T'héen te, 天皇 T'héen hwang, and 大帝 Ta te, have either been used alone or in combination, it will be evident to all those acquainted with the Chinese language, that these latter bear no affinity nor relation to the former, and would not be conjoined with, nor used as explanatory of one another by the natives themselves. The inference to be drawn from the union of such heterogeneous terms therefore is, that Morrison, towards the close of his life, did not consider 神 Shin alone an adequate term to express the Deity, and that he was obliged, in order to insure his being understood, to employ a series of other terms totally distinct in their nature from the original word, either alone or in combination, to express the idea which he wished to convey. If it be urged, that the advocates of Te, have adopted indiscriminately 上帝 Shang-te, 帝 Te, and 天帝 T'héen te, we answer, that these terms are in Chinese estimation nearly synonymous; that they are used interchangeably, and are interpreted in native books the one by the other, which can never be said of 神 Shin and 主 choo, or 神 Shin and 天 T'héen, or 神 Shin and 帝 Te. We do not by adopting either of these terms occasionally, combine ideas that are essentially distinct, nor convey an entirely different idea, as those do who interchange the terms above commented on, or explain them the one by the other. Even 天主 T'héen choo would not differ so materially from 天帝 T'héen te, or 上帝 Shang-te, as to strike the Chinese mind with the incongruity of mixing them up together. We therefore conclude, that the same charge of inconsistency would not lie against the advocates of Te, of combining or interchanging the term with 天帝 T'héen te, or 上帝 Shang-te, as would lie against the advocates of Shin, for combin-

ing that term or interchanging it with 天 T'héen, 主 choo, or 帝 Te.

We may observe under this head, that the Roman Catholics have not only abandoned the use of the word Shin for God, but have, almost from the very first, been in the habit of using it in its legitimate sense of spirit and spiritual. Thus they use 天神 T'héen shin, and 神 Shin alone, for angel. In the chapter on the soul, in the 盛世劬堯 shing she tsow keaou, after alluding to inanimate objects, the life of plants, the animal soul of brutes, and the rational soul of man, the writer proceeds to notice the spiritual nature of angels, thus: “五曰神 woo yuě shin, Fifthly we have angels; viz. the 九品 kew p'hin, nine orders of 天神 T'héen Shin, celestial spirits, whose substances consist of pure spirit, divested of matter and form; these are the immediate 臣 chin, ministers of the Lord of Heaven, who enjoy true glory unfading vigour, connected with intelligence and purity, therefore they are called 神 Shin, angels.” Here it is evident, that the Christian writer understood Shin in the sense of spiritual beings merely, and not gods; giving to them the same designation which is assigned to the Shins in the Le-ke, and the essays of the modern Literati, viz. the 臣 chin, ministers of the Deity. Again he says, that “although the souls of men are essentially united with their bodies, they still participate of the nature of 神 Shin ‘spirits; the 天神 T'héen shin, angels, only belong to the class of 純神 shun shin, pure spirits, but men possessing human souls can in some respects resemble 天神之神 T'héen shin che shin, the spirituality of angels; thus the qualities of 神 Shin, spirit, and 物 wü, matter, unite in man.” Nothing could be plainer than the fact that this Romish writer, (whose style in Chinese indicates a thorough acquaintance with the language,) used the word 神 Shin, in the sense of spirit. It is evident also that he had no misgivings in so using the term; and did not in the least apprehend that the Chinese would disapprove of the sense which he attached to it; indeed, supposing any of the Chinese Literati had checked him by saying, you degrade this term too much in applying it to the souls of men, or even to angels seeing that it is peculiar to the Deity; he could have referred them to their own classical writers and best speakers, who would all have borne him out in attaching such a meaning to the word. In a similar way we find other Romish writers in Chinese, generally using 神 Shin for spirit, whether with refer-

ence to God, angels, or men. Thus they call the Divine Being, 靈妙純神 *ling meau shun shin*, an intelligent and pure spirit; they speak of angels and men, when contrasted each other, as 神人 *Shin jin*, spirits and men; and say that God 肇造神人 *chaou tsaou shin jin*, created both spiritual and human beings, as he is the 神人之主 *Shin jin che choo*, Lord both of spirits and men: they speak also of the 鬼神 *Kwei Shins*, as created beings, and subject to the Supreme; and talk of guardian angels as 護守之神 *hoo show che shin*, protecting spirits; they refer sometimes to the 靈魂之神體 *ling hwán che shin t'he*, spiritual nature of the soul, and contrast 世樂 *she lö*, worldly happiness with 神樂 *shin lo*, spiritual enjoyment. They use 神品 *shin p'hin*, spiritual rank, for clerical orders: 神父 *shin foo*, spiritual father, for priest; 神光 *shin kwang* for spiritual light; 神迷 *shin me*, for spiritual delusion; 神糧 *shin leang*, for spiritual food; 神藥 *shin yǎ*, for spiritual medicine; 神病 *shin ping*, for spiritual complaints; 神益 *shin yih*, for spiritual profit; 神命 *shin ming*, for spiritual life; 神力 *shin leih*, for spiritual strength; and 身神 *shin shin*, for body and soul. These terms occur in some of their best writers in Chinese, who undoubtedly possessed a very extensive and accurate acquaintance with native literature: so that they must have known the bearing of the expressions they employed, and the way in which they would be understood by the natives. The inference therefore is, that they used the terms in question in the right sense, or they were so dreadfully infatuated by their system, as to be reckless about what they did, and careless whether the Chinese understood them or not. But we have above shewn, that they are fully sustained by the Chinese classical writers and best speakers; and thus we must conclude, that they understood the language aright, and used the word *Shin* in its proper sense, when they employed it for spirit and spiritual beings.

But it may be said, we, as Protestants, differ on many material points from the Roman Catholics, and it is not likely that we should exactly agree in our use of theological terms. To which we reply, that there is no difference between them and us on the subjects of the being and attributes of God, nor regarding the nature of spiritual intelligences: and there is no reason why we should dissent from them, in the use of terms on these subjects, unless we have cause on philological grounds so to do. Our converts may sometimes come into contact with theirs, and will no doubt discuss the points at issue

between the adherents of the two forms of faith. Under such circumstances, our friends and followers will labour under a manifest disadvantage, if they use a term for expressing the Deity, which the other party employ in the sense of spirit, and which can be shewn from classical authority and native dictionaries to bear that meaning. The Protestant converts will, if Shin be employed, be speaking of Shin's having created heaven and earth; while the other party will represent the Shins as included among created beings. Our friends would say, that Shin was the Lord of all; while their opponents would shew them that mere Shins are subject to the dominion of the Supreme. The one party would be using 神父 Shin foo, for God the Father, while the other would say, such a term merely designated their common priests; and if they were reproached for blasphemy in thus applying the term Shin to human beings, they could shew that Shin was thus applied by the best Chinese writers, while 神父 Shin foo, never would convey to the Chinese mind the idea of God the Father. On the one hand the statement would be made, that there was but one Shin, and on the other the argument would be maintained, and with reason, that there were millions. * There are already differences enough between the adherents of the two creeds, but the use of Shin for God by the Protestant party would increase the differences a hundred-fold; and at the same time involve themselves in difficulty on philological grounds, from which there would be no escaping. The Roman Catholics would be able to confound the Protestant converts, before their Chinese neighbours, by pointing them out as worshippers of a mere spiritual intelligence, which when

* A Roman Catholic, on coming into a Protestant place of worship, and seeing a copy of the Ten Commandments, headed by 我乃天主 神 Gno nae t'héen choo urh Shin, intended to express "I am the Lord thy God," would object against the statement, as meaning that 天主 t'héen choo, the Lord, was the 神 Shin, spirit of the party addressed: while the Protestant could not clear himself from the charge of having made a very improper statement, without denying, what we have proved to be one of the plainest canons of the Chinese language, that 神 Shin, when preceded by a possessive pronoun, signifies the spirit of the person to whom the Shin is said to belong. Supposing also an intelligent Chinese were to see hung up in a Protestant church, a translation of the so called Apostles creed, running thus: 我信惟有一神 gno sin wei yew yih Shin, "I believe there is but one Shin; he would naturally be led to explain "These people must have a very strong faith, to believe that there is only one Shin when according to the sense in which that word is understood throughout all China, from of old until the present day, every invisible intelligence both good and bad, and every human spirit both in this world and the next, is undoubtedly a Shin."

isolated even the Pagans do not regard as deserving of the highest adoration ; and as using a term for the Deity, which is employed with as much propriety for the mind of a living man as it is for the spirit of the living God.

Should it be said, that the Roman Catholics are under obligation to obey the Papal bull, which is not binding on us Protestants ; we would ask, did the Papal bull oblige them to understand Shin in the sense of spirit ? and was not Shin understood in the sense of spirit long before the Papal bull was issued ? That document appeared in the year 1703 : and in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, published in 1667, we have an abridgement of " the Divine Law," drawn up by Matthew Ricci, who died in 1610, which commences with the following sentence : " Should any ask, who is the Lord of Heaven ? we answer, The Lord of Heaven is no other than he who produced Heaven, earth, (神 shin) spirits and men ;" from this we see that the word Shin was used for created spirits, at least a century before the Papal bull was promulgated ; its employment in this sense could not therefore have been in consequence of that bull. And supposing that Catholic writers generally employed Shin in the sense of spirit, out of deference to the orders of the Roman See, we know that the Syrian Christians, who entered China many centuries before them, owed no allegiance to the Pope of Rome. Or even if there might be some conformity of doctrine between the two churches, the Mahomedans were not in the slightest degree influenced by any regard to the opinions of any sect of Christians ; and yet the Mahomedans called angels Shins, a thousand years ago. To this day, also, they have not the slightest idea that Shin means God ; for on the question being put to several Mahomedans, at different times, whether they worshipped Shin ? they have invariably replied, with horror and indignation, that they never had been guilty of such a crime. A Chinese inhabitant of Cashgar, who came to enquire about religion, on having the same question put to him, said, that he had long ago left off to worship the Shins, and did not wish to begin again.

We have thus seen that Shin means spirit, that as such it corresponds to the human mind and soul, that it is applied to the various invisible intelligences, who are supposed to have charge over different parts of the universe, and that, in the sense of a spiritual intelligence, the Supreme Being in the estimation of the Chinese is said to be a Shin. It is therefore no more adapted to represent our word God, than is the term spirit in any language ; while the argument for employing the generic term for divinities does not apply here, inasmuch

as Shin is not generic for gods but spirits. To use Shin for God therefore, would be subversive of the genius and structure of the whole language, and render the books which were written for the religious instruction of the Chinese vague and unintelligible: while on the other hand, Te has been shewn, by numerous examples, to have moulded the frame of nature, and to have conferred the virtuous principle on mankind; it has been seen that Te is synonymous with Heaven, in the sense of the Divinity, and is at the same time the Lord and Governor of Heaven. We have seen that Te acts according to his will, and disposes of monarchs at his pleasure; while the highest act of worship is paid to Te: at the same time the word Te is frequently used in the plural, as referring to a variety of invisible beings, who are honoured with religious worship. Further, the divinities of the Taouists and Buddhists are frequently called Tes; shewing that Te is used generically for God in the Chinese language. We conceive, therefore, that we are warranted by the Chinese lexicographers, and the *usus loquendi* of the classical writers, in proposing Te and not Shin to be used generically for God in the translation of the Sacred Scriptures.

Notwithstanding we conceive the above arguments in favour of Te as generic for God, to be sufficiently solid, yet as some continue to dissent from our views, and as we wish to do everything possible to secure unanimity among Protestant Missionaries, in regard to the term selected for God in the Chinese language, we are willing to suggest a cognate, but still more definite term; and to recommend the use of 天帝 T'hëen te generically for God, throughout the translation of the Scriptures, and other religious publications. The reasons on which we would base the adoption of 天帝 T'hëen te, are the following:

In the 六書故 Lüh-shoo-koo dictionary, we read, that "the character 帝 Te resembles the stem of a plant, which is written 蒂 te; according to which form the character designed to express 天帝 T'hëen te, God, and 帝王 te wang, a (mere) human ruler was formerly delineated."

In the 左傳 Tso-chuen history, detailing the affairs which happened during the 20th year of 昭 Chaou, the 帝 Te of the text, who is said to confer favours on those who serve him, is called by the commentator 人帝 T'hëen te.

In the 左傳 vol. 4. page 26, Te is said to have granted to Wān-wang a prolongation of life; which the commentator says, means

天帝 T'héen te.

In the Yih-king, under the 豫 Yu, or Concord Diagram, the phrase 上帝 Shang-te, used for the Being who is honoured with the highest act of worship at the winter solstice, is by one of the commentators said to mean 天帝 T'héen te.

In the Shoo-king, 5th book, 5th section, where the text says, that the merit of the sages influenced, 皇天 Hwang T'héen, Imperial Heaven, and 上帝 Shang-te; one of the commentators, remarking upon the employment of different terms to designate the same being, says, "that the merit of these sages reached to 天帝 T'héen te; which means that they promoted universal tranquillity, and thus all the world harmonized with them. The mode of expression is different, but the being alluded to is the same."

In the works of Choo-foo-tsze, section 34, page 8, referring to Kaou tsung's having dreamed, that 帝 Te gave him a virtuous assistant, the philosopher remarks, "According to this there really must be a 天帝 T'héen te, who thus addressed himself to Kaou-tsung: which men explain as referring to the Lord and Governor of Heaven."

In the Wán-wang section of the Book of Odes, speaking of Wáng-wang's shining brightly in the realms above, in the presence of Te; a commentator says, "this shows that where 天帝 T'héen te is, there Wán-wang is also."

In the 儀禮 E-le, vol. 8, page 25, the upper and lower spirits, the spirits of the sun and moon, hills and rivers, are said to be of inferior rank to the 天帝 T'héen tes, or even to 人帝 Jin tes, who were sacrificed to.

In the Commentary on the Taou-tih-king, the 帝 Te who is prior to all things is called 天帝 T'héen te. According to the same sect, there are eight 天 t'héen, divinities in each of the four quarters, who are severally called 大帝 T'héen te.

In the 九家詩 Kew-kea-she, the 精 tsing, genius of the 太一 T'hae yih, Great Unity, is said to belong to the class of 天帝 T'héen tes. In the same work, the seat of the 精帝 T'héen tes is (spoken of as) synonymous with the region of the genii. *

In the 廣博物志 Kwang-pō-wūh-che, section 12, five vener-

* The abode of all the 天帝 T'héen tes, is in the same work, represented as synonymous with the region of the 真人 Chin jin, spiritual genii, or immortals.

able 天帝 T'héen tes are said to have announced to Shun, that the time of his departure was near. Laou-keen in the same section is called 太上天帝 T'hae shang T'héen te.

In the 13th section of the Imperial Essays, a man's spirit at death, is said to soar on high, and wait on the 大帝 T'héen tes.

In one of the Imperial odes, the God, Sakya among the Buddhists, is called 天帝釋 T'héen te shih; while in the 成道記 Ching-taou-ke, the eye-brows of Buddha are said to be arched like the bow of 大帝 T'héen te, and his eyes round like the leaves of the lotus.

These quotations will be sufficient to shew, first, that the 天帝 T'héen tes, are distinct from the 帝王 Te wangs, human rulers; while the phrase T'héen te is synonymous with Te, in the sense of the Supreme, as far as the Chinese knew him: the being who is honoured with the highest act of worship, who bestows blessings, who grants a prolongation of life, who confers virtuous assistants on monarchs, who approves of the conduct of good men, and in whose presence departed worthies appear in the realms above, is with reference to the above acts, called by the name of T'héen te. This is sufficient to warrant us in applying to 天帝 T'héen te all that we find ascribed to Te in the classical writings, and proves that the one term, as well as the other, is the name of the Supreme in the estimation of the Chinese. Indeed it is usual with the Chinese literati, to explain Te, (if intended for the Supreme) by the phrase T'héen te. Secondly, from one of the passages above quoted, we learn that the upper and lower Shins, viz. the spirits who preside over the sun and moon, hills and rivers, are as a class, inferior to the class of 天帝 T'héen tes, or even to the 人帝 jin tes. By the latter term is doubtless meant the Tes of human origin, such as the five celebrated rulers of antiquity, and the various imperial ancestors of existing dynasties, who after death are like Yaou and Shun all honoured as 人帝 Jin tes; by the T'héen tes previously mentioned are intended the Five Tes who are supposed to preside over the elements, seasons, colours and regions, and who are sometimes called the five Shang-tes. These constitute two distinct classes of Tes, who are both considered superior to the spirits presiding over the sun and moon, hills and rivers; if therefore the latter are viewed as a class, as they doubtless will be, the two former, with which they are compared, must be classes likewise; and thus we have a class of celestial origin, and another of human origin, both superior to the mere spirits above spoken of. The distinction also which the Chinese make between the

天帝 T'heen tes and the 人帝 Jim tes, when they wish to notice particularly their different characteristics, will serve to assist us, when we wish to speak definitely of those deities which belong to heaven, to the exclusion of those which are supposed to be of earthly origin. Thus we shall be enabled to designate the class of celestial deities, without the slightest danger of their being mistaken for mere deified mortals. Had the Chinese not been in the habit of exalting their departed progenitors and ancient sages to the rank of gods, the word Te alone, (as defined in the Imperial Dictionary to be one of the names of Heaven or the Divinity, and the names of various spiritual beings the objects of religious worship) would have been sufficiently distinct; but seeing that they have adopted this practice, and some might be led to confound these latter with the deified emperors and sages, the use of the compound phrase 天帝 T'heen te, (which is also said to be synonymous with 帝 Te, in the sense of the Supreme and inferior divinities) will remove every obscurity, and make the term definite and unmistakeable. No Chinese would ever think of confounding the 天帝 T'heen tes with their deified emperors, and every one would undoubtedly understand it in the sense of deities, who were originally such, and not those who have been raised to that honour by an apotheosis. Should we in conformity with the Chinese example adopt this term, (a term which is sanctioned by their classical commentators, and forms part of their language) we should obviate entirely all those objections brought by the opponents of Te, that it is equally applicable to earthly as well as heavenly beings, because T'heen-te must be taken as referring to the latter and not the former-

The passages quoted from the Taouist works shew, not only that 天帝 T'heen te is used by them in the sense of the Supreme God, but that it is a generic term for a class of beings, who are treated by them with divine honours, from the gods of the 32 heavens, who are called 天帝 T'heen tes, with Laou kenn, who was called 太上天帝 T'heen shang t'heen te, down to those inferior 天帝 T'heen tes who rank with the genii and immortals: thus shewing that the term is not a title of honour, but an appellative for the crowd of gods worshipped by that sect.

The Buddhists not only call the founder of their sect *Sakya*, 天帝釋 T'heen te Shih, but speak also of the rainbow as belonging to the one 天帝 T'heen te, who manages heaven; shewing that they considered T'heen-te as generic, in conformity with the practice

of the other sects.

In common conversation the Chinese never mistake the phrase 天帝 T'héen te, as applicable to the Supreme God, and to gods generally.

It was doubtless on this account, that Morrison in his Domestic Instructor, employed 天帝 T'héen te, so frequently for God : saying that 天帝 T'héen te originally produced the human race ; that men offended against T'héen te ; that Jesus reconciled sinners to T'héen te by his death ; that Jesus was the messenger (lit. 欽差 K'hin ch'hae, the imperial envoy) of T'héen te ; that he received the commands of 神父天帝 Shin foo T'héen te, (by which is meant God the Father ; the word God, however, being represented by T'héen te, and the Father by Shin foo,) to proclaim forgiveness to man ; that Jesus was anointed to be a prophet, priest and king by 天帝神父 T'héen te Shin foo, God the Father, (where the preceding expression is reversed, but the meaning is the same :) that Immanuel, God with us, signifies that 天帝神子 T'héen te Shin tsze, God the Son came down into the world to save mankind : Morrison further says, that at the baptism of our Lord, the heaven was opened, and 大帝之神風 T'héen te che shin fung, the Spirit of God descended like a dove and lighted upon him. He also has the phrase 天帝神主 T'héen te Shin choo, in the sense of the Lord God granting forgiveness. Thus we have the word T'héen te used for God, when speaking of the persons in the blessed Trinity, severally applied to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as engaged in the salvation of man, and viewed as one Being, the Lord God granting forgiveness to the human race.

We have already referred to the 'Tartar Dictionary, with regard to the word Shin, we now quote it with reference to the term 上帝 Shang te, to which that work assigns the meaning *Apkai Khan* ; this phrase, if rendered back into literal Chinese, would be 天帝 T'héen te, shewing that in the estimation of that Lexicographer the terms are synonymous.

While on the subject of the Tartar language, we may again refer to the version of the New Testament into the Manchow dialect executed by Liposoff, and revised by Borrow. The phrase employed for translating God in that version is *Apkai Etchen*. The first of these words means Heaven, and the second is rendered in Amiot's Manchow and French Dictionary, "Maitre, Seigneur, Souverain, Roi, Empereur," so that the combined phrase means the Sovereign

or Emperor of Heaven. The Manchow translator has employed this term generically for God, and in John 10 : 35, he has given it the plural form, *Apkai etchete*, the Emperors or Lords of Heaven. In the connection referred to, the verse reads, "If he called them Emperors or Lords of Heaven, unto whom the word of the Emperor or Lord of Heaven came, &c." So in Galations 4 : 8. "Ye did service to them who by nature are not the Emperors or Lords of Heaven." Again in Acts 14 : 11. "The Lords or Emperors of Heaven are come down to us in the likeness of men." 1 Cor. 8 : 5. "There are many Lords or Emperors of Heaven." For idol, in the preceding verse, the translator has employed *oren* which Amiot calls "the maues of the dead, the representative of the corpse when sacrifices are offered to the dead; an image or statue of Buddha, or any other idol." In the same way throughout the New Testament, wherever *Theos* occurs it is represented by *Apkai etchen*, and *Theoi*, by *Apkai etchete*. In this respect the translator has acted consistently, and having adopted a term, which he considered equivalent to *Theos*, he has adhered to it throughout. With regard to the word chosen, it is most likely that the translator found as much difficulty in discovering a single term by which to represent *Theos* in Manchow, as has been experienced in Chinese, and therefore adopted a compound phrase to express the idea intended. It is to be presumed, that the translator was not influenced in his choice by a deference to the Papal bull, as being a Russian he most likely belonged to the Greek Church, which does not sympathize with the Latin, and rejects the authority of the Roman see. Besides which, his reviser Mr. Borrow, is a Protestant, and being employed by a Protestant Society, had no need to comply with the decision of a Roman Catholic tribunal, unless he saw reason. on philological grounds, to adopt a term of similar import. The term employed was, therefore, the best that under the circumstances could be selected.

Here we may observe, that it is no argument against a term that it has been previously adopted by the Romish Church, particularly on a subject in which the Protestant communion agrees. With reference to the present controversy, the phrase 天主 *T'héen choo*, was not resorted to before fifty years had been spent in discussion and the most learned in Europe and Asia had been consulted on the subject, as to whether 天主 *T'héen choo*, or 天 *T'ée* should be selected : of the two we think they have chosen the right one ; from what has been above written, however, it will appear, that there was still another phrase of a similar nature, possessing more claims to

attention, and against which fewer objections could be urged, being a combination of the two characters into one compound term, both of which, when taken alone, are used by the Chinese for God : and taken together they constitute a phrase, in common use among themselves, to designate both the Supreme and subordinate Deities, in neither of which cases did the term 天主 t'hëen choo, come up to it. Thus T'hëen te can be used generically for God, and is capable of being applied when speaking of the three persons in the Sacred Trinity : a version of the Scriptures into a cognate language patronized by the Bible Society, and approved by one of the best oriental scholars ever known, has employed a term of similar import, in precisely the same way in which we propose to employ this, and no Chinese would by any possibility misunderstand the term if so employed.

By using the term 天帝 T'hëen te, instead of 天主 T'hëen choo, we shall secure another advantage, besides the benefit derived from its being preferable on philological grounds, viz. the prevention of Protestants from being confounded with the adherents of the church of Rome. It is well known, that the doctrines preached by the latter have long been recognized as the 天主教 t'hëen choo keaou, the Lord of Heaven's religion : and did Protestants employ exactly the same term for the Deity which the Roman Catholics have done, there would be some danger of the Chinese confounding the two sects, which would be as much deprecated by the one as the other. It is true, we should not be likely to give any title to our religion derived from the name of God, but one deduced from that of the Saviour : yet we could not prevent the Chinese from giving to us and our doctrines what name they pleased. And as the term chosen for designating the Deity, would occur as frequently as that for pointing out the founder of our faith ; the Chinese would be most likely to take up with the former rather than the latter ; if 天主 T'hëen choo therefore were employed by us, as well as by the Roman Catholics, we should be classed together. By employing 天帝 T'hëen te, however, all danger of confusion would be avoided, and the different forms of faith would stand forth sufficiently distinct.

ART. II. *The character of Chinese Officers illustrated by selections from Chinese proverbs, &c.* Translated for the Chinese Repository, by T. S. P.

WORDS and phrases in any language afford excellent means for studying and ascertaining the character, manners, and customs of those who have coined and used the same. The few that are subjoined, selected from a large collection that has been made for grammatical purposes, are brought together here to illustrate the character of the Chinese magistracy.

官 字 兩 個 口

1. *Kwán tsz' liáng kó k'au;*

"The word *officer* has two mouths." In Morrison's dictionary the word *kwán*, officer, is said to be derived from "a covering under which many are assembled." The top part represents a covering, while the lower parts exhibits *two mouths*; hence the play upon the word; for an officer, thus furnished with two mouths, can easily change his words, and what he utters with his lips is not to be depended upon.

官 情 如 紙 薄

2. *Kwán tsing jü chí poh;*

"The affection (or kindness) of officers is as thin as paper." Though styled the fathers and mothers of the people, they are generally reputed to be destitute of all regard, and often instead of protecting, feed upon, the people.

大 雞 不 食 細 米

3. *Tá kí puh shih sí mí;*

"The large fowl does not eat small rice;" or, in other words, the officer who occupies a high post is not to be satisfied with small bribes. By law bribes are forbidden; in practice they are necessary, first to secure office, and in the second place to secure action from an incumbent.

有 錯 捉 無 錯 放

4. *Yü ts'oh tsuh. wú ts'oh fang;*

"A man may be seized (and made prisoner) by mistake; but he may not be so released." Once in their hands, however innocent, money is always expected ere he can go at liberty.

一 代 做 官 十 代 做 乞 兒

5. *Yih tái tso kwán, shih tái tso k'ih 'rh;*

"To act the magistrate in one generation; and the beggar in ten." Those who are in official stations during one generation, shall as punishment for the malversation be beggars for ten generations. The individuals themselves, in their transmigrations, may suffer in this manner, or the punishment may descend upon their posterity, or they may suffer in both these ways.

生不入官門 死不入地獄

6. *Sang puh juh kwan mun, sz' puh juh ti yoh;*

"While living, not to enter the gate of a magistrate; and when dead, not to enter the prison of earth," are two things equally to be wished. So the Chinese think. *Ti yoh*, earth's prison, is their phrase for *hell*.

身在帝皇邊 猶如共虎眠

7. *Shin tsai ti huang pien yü jü kung hü mien;*

"To be near the person of imperial majesty, is like sleeping with the tiger." To be near a despotic ruler is as dangerous as to be found sleeping in the den of wild beasts.

笑罵猶他 笑罵好官任我爲之

8. *Siâu má yü tá siâu má! hau kwán jin wo wei chí!*

"Laugh and rail! Let them laugh and rail, as much as they please; but always allow me to hold a rich office." The desire for office, among the Chinese, like their thirst for gain, is strong,—sometimes stronger than death.

衙門八字開 有理無錢你莫來

9. *Yá mun páh tsz' k'ai, yü lí wu tsien ní moh lái;*

"The gate of an office opens like the character eight, *páh* 八; though you may have reason on your side, and are without money, come not near it."

半世功名 百世冤

10. *Pwán shí kung ming pch shí yuen;*

"For being honored with an official name during half an age, he must be detested for a hundred generations," as a punishment for the injuries he inflicted during that period.

送肉上砧

11. *Sung juh sháng chin;*

"To lay a present of meat upon the chopping-block." To get people involved in the law and brought within the grasp of official people, is to the latter a favor, or like an offering of a piece of flesh.

羣羊付與豺狼收

12. *Kwan yang fú yü ch'ai lang muh;*

"A flock of sheep delivered over to the wolf-and-tiger shepherds." This language, it is said by Dr. Morrison, was used by the emperor Kienlung, as descriptive of the condition of the people of his empire. If it were just in Kienlung's day, what must it be now?

N. B. It were easy to add to these illustrations, but they are sufficient for my purpose,—sufficient to show that those are in error, who suppose the people of China are free from oppression on the part of their rulers. Every office in the land is venal; and every man in office (few are the exceptions) seeks mainly to enrich himself, and often with utter disregard of the means of doing this

ART. III. *A few plain Questions addressed to those Missionaries, who, in their preaching or writing, teach the Chinese to worship Shàng-tí.*

DEAR BROTHER,—A view of this subject has presented itself to my mind recently, which, if correct, is so important, that I cannot refrain from laying it before you, with the request that you will give it, as the importance of the subject demands, a careful and prayerful consideration.

As my object is not to write a long argument, but to present the view to which I wish to call your attention as pointedly and in as few words as possible, I will throw what I have to suggest into the form of questions, to which I must beg you, as you go along, to furnish answers.

1. Do you not regard the phrase Shàng-tí as *in effect* a proper name? Or in other words, Does not Shàng-tí, in the Chinese classics and in the understanding of the Chinese literati of the present day, designate a single individual Being?

Does not the phrase Shàng-tí, in Chinese writings and discourses, designate the individual Being called *T'ien*, 天, as *definitely*, as the phrase the LORD in our English scriptures designates the true God?

If you have any hesitation in answering these questions affirmatively, I beg to refer you to Mr. Medhurst's Enquiry, p. 19 and seq. for such information on the subject as will I think satisfy your mind.

2. Is the Chinese *T'ien* 天 or *Shàng-tí* 上帝 Jehovah, the true God?

Before answering this question, let me beg you to consider that

the possession of any given number of attributes in common cannot prove personal identity, provided any important and CHARACTERISTIC difference can be shewn to exist.

I can here perhaps best explain my meaning by an example. Suppose that in the account given of A. and B, in two histories such a remarkable similarity should be found to exist, as to suggest the thought, that by these different names the Historians must be designating the same individual; yet if on reading further we should learn that A. was benign and merciful and that B. was cruel and revengeful; or that A. was tall and handsome and that B. was dwarfish and ugly; either of these points of difference would be so *characteristic* as to set the question of the personal identity of A. and B. wholly at rest, supposing the historians accurate in their representations. No amount or degree of similarity can prove identity, where any point of irreconcilable difference can be shewn.

So in this case, I would maintain, that, if in comparing Jehovah with the *Sháng-tí* of the Chinese, any marked, prominent and irreconcilable difference of *character* can be shewn to exist, this fact is fatal to the identity of the *Sháng-tí* of the Chinese, with the Jehovah of the sacred Scriptures.

In making a comparison between Jehovah and *Sháng-tí*, I shall call your attention to but one difference between them, which I conceive is *important* and *characteristic*, and I mention only one, not because no others occur to my mind, but because I am persuaded many occur to your own minds and because I desire to adhere to my determination to be brief.

The CHARACTERISTIC difference to which I shall refer is *jealousy* or abhorrence of false worship. Jehovah, speaking of false gods and images says "thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." Of those whose hearts turn away from the Lord God to go and serve the gods of the nations He says, "The Lord will not spare him, but the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him and the Lord shall blot out his name from under Heaven."

This jealousy is one of the chief *characteristics* of Jehovah and the one in which HE stands most prominently in contrast to all false deities. This feature of the Divine character is very prominently presented in the sacred Scriptures. It is the great safe-guard of the monotheism taught in the Bible.

A Being then, who not merely wants this remarkably prominent,

characteristic feature of the true God, but on the contrary manifests a complete toleration of the worship of inferior gods cannot, no matter what amount of power, dominion, intelligence and wisdom may be attributed to him, be the Jehovah of whom we read in the sacred Scriptures.

To regard a Being, who looks with perfect indifference upon the offering of religious worship to the mines of dead men at the same time that he himself is worshiped, as identical with the Jehovah of the Bible, does, in my humble opinion, as great violence to all proper views of the Divine Being, as the confounding the true, great and divine Prophet of the Church, with the lying Impostor of Mecca would to the character of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

That *Sháng-ti* receives worship at the same time with other Beings, you will see proofs in Mr. Medhurst's *Shoo-king* *passim*. I will call your attention to only one passage, which occurs on p. 17. "Shun there offered a sacrifice of the same class (with the border sacrifice) to (上帝) the Supreme Ruler, he presented a pure offering to the six objects of veneration, he looked with devotion towards the hills and rivers and glanced around at the host of Spirits."

From the *Shí king* you will learn that *Hautseih* and *Wanwáng* were each paired with *Sháng-ti* in the public worship of the Chinese court, and you will not, I think, find the suggestion made by any Chinese writer that this is displeasing to *Sháng-ti*. Can *Sháng-ti*, then, be the same Being as He, whom we are taught to worship in the sacred Scriptures under the name of Jehovah?

I would further suggest that if you answer that *Shang-ti* is identical with Jehovah, you must maintain that the Chinese know and have known, independently of revelation, the true God for thousands of years, for they have unquestionably known *Sháng-ti* for that length of time.

If these suggestions or any reflections of your own mind should induce you to answer this my second question, "Is the *Sháng-ti* of the Chinese, Jehovah" in the negative, then I have but one more question to ask.

3. Does not the first commandment forbid the offering of religious worship to any other than Jehovah?

This question, we feel assured, you will with every Protestant answer affirmatively. We request then that you will apply this great truth, that men are not allowed to offer religious worship to any other than Jehovah to the answer to the two questions above stated.

1. *Shàng-tí* is in effect a proper name, designating definitely as it does a single individual Being.

3. This Being, i. e. *Shàng-tí* is not Jehovah.

3. Is not then the conclusion irresistible that he, who shall worship *Shàng-tí* or shall teach men so to do, is guilty of breaking the first and chiefest of the commandments of God?

This matter is of such grave and solemn import that I cannot conclude without alluding to a precept of great importance in all questions of casuistry, viz., "In all doubtful cases take the safe side." "He that doubteth is damned if he eat."

If then you entertain the *slightest doubt* of the perfect identity of the Chinese *Shàng-tí* with that Jehovah who alone can be worshiped without a violation of the first commandment, let me entreat you, as you regard loyal obedience to your Maker and eternal Judge never to call upon the Chinese to worship *Shàng-tí* again, until all doubt of his entire oneness with Jehovah shall be wholly removed from your minds.

I am Dear Brethren faithfully Yours,

A Brother Missionary.

ART. IV. *Propositions for promoting the public security, in the Union of the Eight Streets.* Translated for the Repository.

THAT people should delight in discharging the duties of their various professions is of prime importance in promoting the security and peace of society, and it is very useful and proper, that they should give a thought now and then, to the prevention of the evils to which the world is continually exposed.

Now then, on the north side of the city, in the temple of the Old Dragon King, is the god which the inhabitants of the Eight Streets worship with incense and with sacrifices. From the beginning of his worship until now, his favors have been richly bestowed and the people of the land have been daily enlarged. In consequence of his divine virtue and goodness, there is a general quiet enjoyed in the thoroughfares of the city—and all together enjoy tranquil times, and all unite with concordant voice to praise the delightful

land. But when the clouds gather from the four quarters of the heavens it is necessary that the people should be on their guard in order to keep the country quiet and preserve it from the desolation of the winds and waves. The inhabitants of the Eight Streets should be especially on their guard against the villains who go spying about the city, and still more should the sacrificial ceremonies of the Divine Temple be discharged with due splendor and magnificence. But the regulations concerning the public thoroughfares ought also to be strictly attended to—as it is said—a hundred years without trouble, but not a day without pains. In future, it is greatly to be desired, that the people should be all united in keeping a faithful lookout for the safety of the community, and in cherishing a disposition for their mutual protection and defence. By taking care to prevent injustice they will secure the safety of the virtuous, and will be able to rejoice together in the common elevation to an even and harmonious age. Now the various propositions which have been offered are recorded below.

1. If in the Union of the Eight Streets there be found bands of outlaws, who set fire to houses, not regarding the lives of individuals or their families, by this means hoping and contriving to obtain an opportunity for plunder, the people having sounded the alarm, must proceed forth in order, with united strength, to arrest the villains and bring them to the public temple. The whole body of the citizens will then assemble to make investigation and to ascertain the facts. If there be clear and substantial evidence against them, the citizens making out a list of their names, will send the individuals arrested to the magistrate for investigation. Then, whether they belong within or without the Union of the Eight Streets, the persons who shall have exerted themselves to seize and arrest the offenders, after waiting for the magistrate to investigate and ascertain the truth, shall in each case be presented with fifty silver dollars as merit money.

If there be a case of a person feigning to be the enemy of another and falsely exposing him, and because forsooth he sees there is a chance of obtaining the merit money, purposely thrusts goods into his possession, and then places him under a false arrest, a public meeting of the citizens will then be called and an investigation instituted for ascertaining the facts—thus immediately turning the criminality upon the individual himself, so as by this means to give security to the good and honest citizens, and at the same time to frustrate the machinations of the lawless.

2. If in the Union of the Eight Streets there be found lawless and

desperate villains, who hide away in their secret rendezvous, the goods which they have stolen or plundered, and who finding the property of an individual exposed, immediately set their minds upon it, with the intention of getting hold of it, while at the same time there are no officers appointed to arrest them, and on this account they take occasion to profit themselves by plunder, and obstruct the passage of the street in order that they may commit their depredations at their leisure—and also, when in the vicinity of the desolations occasioned by the god of fire, within the region of the Eight Streets, individuals shall avail themselves of the circumstance, to commit robbery and depredations, the citizens must unite their forces rigorously to arrest, and to bring them to the public temple. The people will then assemble to investigate and ascertain the truth and then with a list of the names of the citizens, the individuals will be forwarded to the magistrate for trial. Those who have exerted themselves in making the arrest, waiting for the magistrate to examine and ascertain the truth, will then be presented with ten silver dollars as merit money. He who first finds out the nest of the villains, and sends a true report of the same, pointing out the place and the criminals, shall be rewarded with twenty silver dollars, as merit money.

3. If a quarrel shall fall out among strangers passing through the Union of the Eight Streets, and they come to blows and fighting, then the people must in a proper manner go out and admonish them, so as to break up the disturbance; and if any person shall have been killed, or mortally wounded, in such affray occurring within the Eight Streets, then the citizens must combine their efforts to arrest the murderer. They will then meet at the public temple in order to ascertain clearly respecting the affair. They will then deliver up the individual to the magistrate for trial and punishment, and those who have exerted themselves to arrest the criminal, will be rewarded with twenty silver dollars merit money. If the murderer should escape, it will devolve upon the shopmen of the Eight Streets, residing in the vicinity, to notify the inhabitants of the said temple district, that they may have a public meeting to investigate and ascertain the truth. They will then send in a list of their names; and if both the individuals concerned (the murderer and the person killed) happen to have been travelers not belonging in the Eight Streets, the expense required in making out the merit money, will be furnished by the residents of the said temple district. But if a disturbance of this sort should arise among the shopmen of the Eight Streets, they will first notify the inhabitants, and then call a meeting at the temple of

the district where the difficulty occurs, and having investigated the causes which gave rise to the calamity, they will deliberate and decide according to the common principles of justice.

4. If within the Union of the Eight Streets there shall be any dishonest persons or sharpers, as any one falsely pretending to be the servant of the magistrate and taking occasion thereby to intimidate and deceive; or any one who shall thrust goods into the possession of another to involve him in injury; or any one who measuring out false accusations against another at his own pleasure, shall seek thus to involve him in ruin; or any one who shall inflict wounds upon himself in order to induce others to give him money; or any dishonest beggar, who shall seek by annoying to enforce compliance with his demands; or any selfish trader, who shall have recourse to dishonest artifices in order to monopolize the purchase and the sale of goods; or any traveler, who being suddenly attacked by a violent disease shall fall down dead in the streets; or any assistant partner in a shop, who having suddenly deceased, his relations in violation of their own sense of justice, make a false representation to the magistrate—these, and all vile practices of this sort, are such as are calculated to inflict great injury upon the mercantile community.

As soon then as the persons concerned shall have sent in their representations, the inhabitants residing in the said temple district, will call a public meeting and take the matter into careful consideration. It is certainly to be expected, that all honest and upright citizens, in cases where the innocent are thus made liable to suffer injury, will endeavor to manage and dispose of such matters, according as the law of public equity requires. If it be necessary that the matter be submitted to the magistrate, the citizens making out a list of their names will send it in to the magistrate, with such representations as shall tend to protect the innocent and bring the aggressors to justice. With reference to the expense which shall have been incurred, they will estimate the affair according to its degree of importance, and determine it in accordance with the principles of equity.

5. If within the Union of the Eight Streets there be a commodious house or shop, which no person has engaged to rent, the proprietor must obtain a good and faithful man to take charge of it, and he must not allow it to become the rendezvous of idlers. If it be availed of as the lurking place of robbers, as before mentioned, who employ their idleness in setting fire to houses and doing other damage, as soon as they shall have been discovered, if the case

The ship *Eurl of Clare* from Bombay towards China, on the 31st March last, at noon, being in lat. 17.50 N. and lon. 124.40 E., discovered shoal water alongside, and saw the bottom distinctly about 20 yards from the ship; large white shells and dark coloured rock.

Immediately under the ship apparently no bottom, and the water not discoloured, as it was over the shoal.

From the nature of the bottom having been seen so very distinctly, I cannot but pronounce it most dangerous, being immediately in the fair track for ships bound through the Pacific Ocean, from the Pellew Islands towards the North Bashees.

The position of the danger may be considered correctly ascertained, as we had sights for latitude at noon, by three good instruments, as also for longitude, the chronometers being found correct on making the Bashees and Lema Islands, in a run of five and eight days respectively, after seeing the shoal.

On R. Blanchford & Co.'s general outline chart for 1843, is marked "Lord Anson's Shoal," being nearly in the latitude and longitude of the one above named. There must have been some reason for marking it down, although I can find no mention of it anywhere else.

I must remark that so satisfied am I of its position and existence, that there is no other danger, for which I would keep a better look-out, or give a wider berth in passing.

(Signed) M. AGER.

Victoria Hongkong, 8th May, 1841.

From the China Mail, May 11th 1848.

Seu, High Imperial Commissioner &c., &c., sends the following communication;

The late High Imperial Commissioner, Keying, presented a memorial to the Throne, requesting that the same rate of Transit Duties on Calicoes might be levied at the Pih-sin Custom House in Chekeang, as at Heu-shoo, which is in the neighbourhood. To this application the Imperial reply was, "Let the Board of Revenue deliberate and report on this subject. Respect this!"

I now received a communication from the Board, stating that every description of Foreign Cotton Manufactures, paid at the Heu-shoo Custom House 2 mace 2 candareens per hundred catties, or per pecul weight, whilst 1-2 mace were paid per piece at Pih-sin. Since the difference in the amount is very considerable, the tariff of duties on Calicoes at Pih-sin ought, as proposed, to be the same as that at the Heu-shoo Custom House in the neighbourhood, in order to equalize the rate of duties levied.

To this representation an Imperial reply was received, saying, "Let it be done as proposed. Respect this!"

Whilst transmitting this information to the Superintendent of the Pih-sin Custom House, I thought it my duty to submit it also for the consideration of the Honourable Envoy, and wish you much happiness, addressing the same, To His Excellency, Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, Samuel George Bonham, Esq., &c., &c.,

Taoukwang 28th year, 3d month, 26th day, (26th April 1848.)

(True Translation)

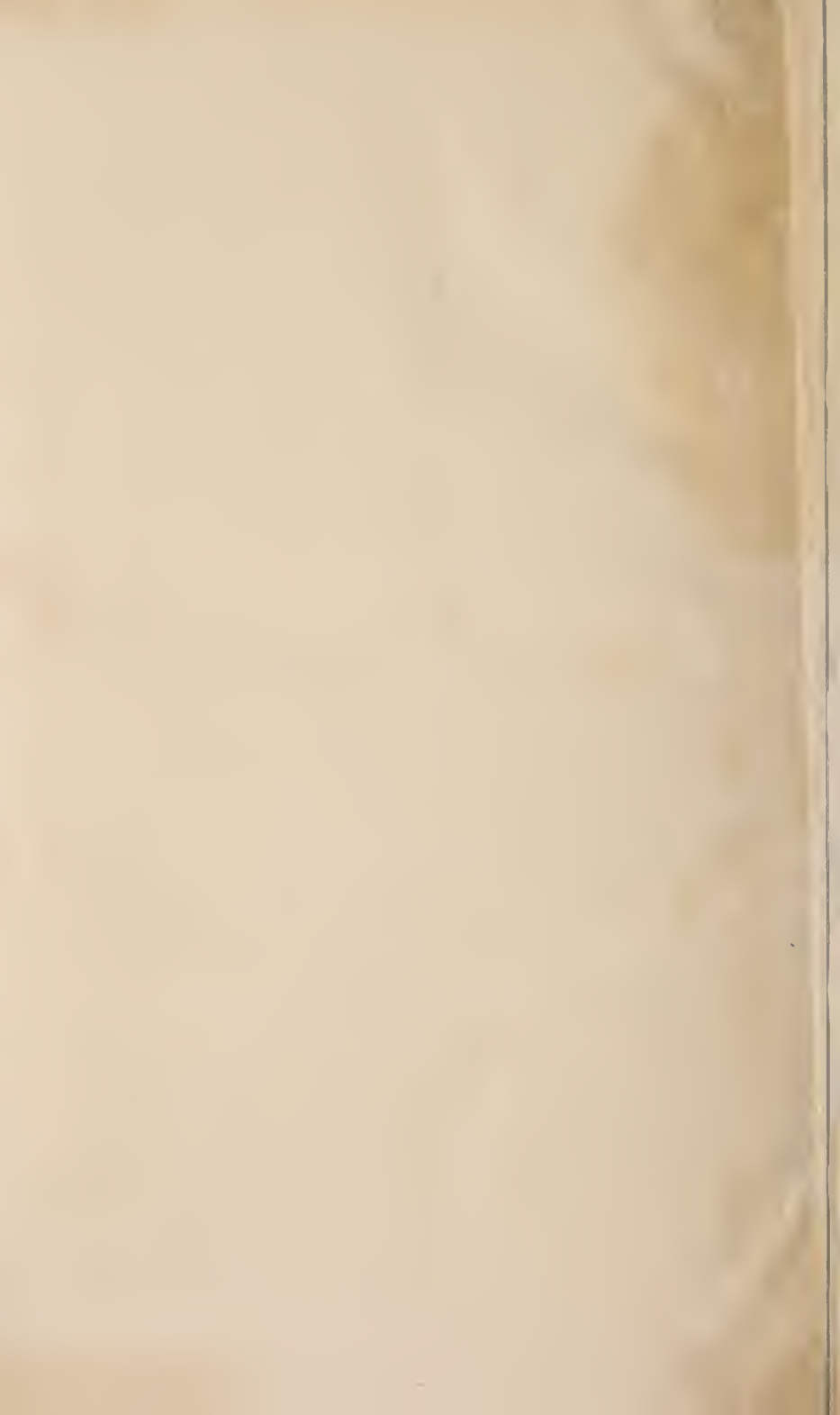
CHARLES GUTZLAFF, *Chinese Secretary.*

The following notice was lately issued from the British consulate at Canton.

The Provincial Government having violated and set at nought the 5th article of the Treaty of Nanking, and having sent a positive denial of reparation to the remonstrances and requisitions of the undersigned H. B. M. Officiating Consul at this port, he is constrained to request that all British merchants having duties and tonnage dues to pay into the Imperial Customs will withhold the same pending the pleasure of H. M. Plenipotentiary, to whom the points at issue have been referred.

ADAM W. ELSLIE, *H. M. Officiating Consul.*

British Consulate Canton, May 10th, 1848



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